## SOVIET AFFAIRS ANALYSIS SERVICE

Distributed in the U.S. and Canada by the American Committee for Legation 29

The Institute for the Study of the USSR is a free corporation of scholars who have left the Soviet Union. Its purpose is to make available to the Free World analyses of contemporary events and detailed studies of various aspects of the soviet system by persons who know the system intimately. Opinions expressed herein do not necessarily afterious of policies of the Institute.

Outline Of Reference Paper On:

19 April 1961 No. 29, 1960/61

## SOVIET POLICY FOR AFRICA

Soviet Union's "definite material sacrifices in the name of the most rapid possible progress of the Afro-Asian peoples" are being hailed by the Soviet propaganda apparatus as "truly a great international achievement."

Analysis of the nature of Soviet policy in the countries of Africa shows, however, that Soviet economic and technical assistance is by no means as disinterested as is claimed but is in fact the bridgehead for political penetration. Soviet publications meant for distribution within the Soviet Union do not hesitate to admit that "the magnanimous aid of the socialist countries" helps the cause of "advancing socialism" in Africa.

The main political device of Soviet policy in Africa is the exploitation of nationalism, both through inflammatory propaganda materials and through infiltration and intensive participation in conferences of African national groups.

Another expression of Soviet paternal interest in the African peoples is the creation in the Soviet Union of an institute specially organized to "rewrite the history of the new African states."

In line with their strategy of political penetration, the Soviets are supporting the activities of various "Committees for the Solidarity of the Afro-Asian Peoples" and are maintaining close ties with African trade-union associations. Another international organization created on the initiative of the Soviets is the Association of Afro-Asian Writers.

CIRCULATION COPY 1

## SOVIET AFFAIRS ANALYSIS SERVICE

Distributed in the U.S. and Canada by the American Committee for Liberation. 1657 Broadway, New York 19, N.Y.

The Institute for the Study of the USSR is a free corporation of scholars who have left the Soviet Union. Its purpose is to make available to the Free World analyses of contemporary events and detailed studies of various aspects of the Soviet system by persons who know the system intimately. Opinions expressed herein do not necessarily reflect views or policies of the Institute.

No. 29, 1960/61

## SOVIET POLICY FOR AFRICA

The Soviet policy for Africa, as reflected in the Soviet press, involves the production of a wide variety of propaganda and the use of economic and political devices intended to win the continent for world Communism.

A recent article in Aziya I Afrika Sevodnya (Asia and Africa Today), a Soviet magazine devoted to developments in the two continents, is characteristic of the current Soviet propaganda line:

Friendly relations are developing between the Soviet Union and the young African states, based on the principles of peaceful co-existence and equality between peoples, large and small... The noble struggle of the Soviet people for the peace and happiness of all peoples, the disinterested aid which it grants to states that have recently achieved their independence, impress on the peoples of Africa feelings of trust in and friendship for the Soviet Union... The socialist power is the sincere and reliable friend of the African countries (No. 3, 1961).

Soviet propaganda further claims that Soviet policy in Africa is something completely new, a historic step for the good of the "oppressed" peoples:

It is a basically new type of relationship, hither-to completely unknown in history between a powerful industrial state and economically underdeveloped countries, which arises from the very nature of the socialist society.... The Soviet Union is not providing assistance out of surplus capital but is making definite material sacrifices in the name of the most rapid possible progress of the Afro-Asian peoples. This is truly a great international achievement (Pravda November 4, 1960).

(more)

Analysis of the nature of Soviet policy in the countries of Africa shows, however, that Soviet economic and technical assistance is by no means as disinterested as is claimed but is in fact the bridgehead for political penetration. The economic aid is part of a program of gradual but unrelenting economic assimilation, to be followed by political absorption. The real goal of this program is plain for the Soviet reader to see:

The magnanimous aid of the socialist countries that the newly independent states enjoy helps put an end to distrust of the cause of socialism and Communism, while this in turn also helps the cause of advancing toward socialism (V Pomoshch Politicheskomu Samo-Obrazovaniyu, In Assistance of Political Self-Education, No. 12, 1959).

The main political device of the Soviet policy in Africa is to inflame nationalist feelings against the West by calling for a struggle against colornialism. Soviet propaganda speaks of two types of colonialism: the declining old-style colonialism and neo-colonialism, which, it charges, is even more dangerous. The capitalist states, so the line goes, are handing the African countries an "imaginary independence--for which the definition 'neo-colonialism' is more fitting--with its new, even more dangerous forms of dependence, with domination in the political and cultural spheres, with military pacts and one-sided economic agreements, with puppet rulers and with exploitation of the United Nations against the African peoples" (Izvestia, March 28, 1961).

African nationalism is further exploited by the Soviets through participation in its conferences, such as the third All-Africa Peoples' Conference, held from March 25 to 30, 1961, in Cairo and attended by representatives from 36 countries and from 70 political parties and organizations. The conference sent a telegram to the United Nations demanding support for the "legal" government of Antoine Gizenga, called upon the independent governments of Africa to recognize him, demanded that the pro-Western Congolese leaders be punished for the murder of Patrice Lumumba, and finally insisted on the removal of U.N. Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold. A resolution was passed declaring neo-colonialism to be the major danger to the African states and attacking the United States, West Germany, Israel, Great Britain, Holland, South Africa, and France as its main representatives. The conference also called for the creation of organizations for women, youths, and peasants, and of an All-African federation of trade unions, considered by the conference as one of the most effective means of combatting neo-colonialism. The resolution, furthermore, condemned President Kennedy's Peace Corps and suggested that the United Nations Secretariat be reorganized on the basis of Soviet proposals.

One piece of Soviet propaganda in Africa charges that the West is responsible for the death of more than 100 million Africans and for a drop of 234 million in the population of the continent over the last three centuries in comparison with what the total population ought to have been under normal conditions (Problemy Mira I Sotsializma, Problems of Peace and Socialism, No. 5, 1960). The Soviets also assert that the West has plundered and is continuing to pillage the African peoples economically and culturally. Central Committee Presidium member Frol R. Kozlov stated at a meeting held under the title of "friendship with the African peoples" that

The colonizers, as is known, not only did not bring civilization to Africa, but, on the other hand, strove to rob the African peoples culturally, erase from their memory reminders of the great historical past of Africa, and attempted to turn them into persons who do not remember their kinship and are, as it were, without a history (Pravda, November 27, 1959).

To fill this alleged cultural gap, a special institute has recently been created in the USSR to rewrite the history of the new African states.

A good example of Soviet efforts to undermine the Western position in Africa is the Soviet policy in the Congo. Having failed with Lumumba and not having gained adequate support in the United Nations, the Kremlin is now backing the government of Gizenga in Stanleyville as the only legal government of the Congo. Pravda reported on April 3 an interview with Gizenga in which he expressed hope for Soviet aid: the paper commented that the Soviet people were only too willing to help the people of the Congo. Early last year an article entitled "The Congo in the Struggle for Independence" left not doubts as to the aims of Soviet policy in that part of the world: "We will not be wrong if we say that there is only one possibility--to break with colonialism..., to create a socialist economy which Africa expects and which guarantees its future" Mirovaya Ekonomika I Mezhdunarodniye Otnosheniya, World Economics and International Relations, No. 1, 1960).

The Soviets are supporting the activities of various "Committees for the Solidarity of the Afro-Asian Peoples." These committees were created three years ago on Soviet initiative in various countries, including the USSR. The general secretariat of these committees is Soviet-controlled. A recent example of their kind of work is a special session held in Cairo on January 22 and 23, 1961, and attended by representatives of 29 Afro-Asian states. The meeting discussed the situation in the Congo, Algeria, and Laos and resolved (1) to put an end to the interference of the imperialist states, headed by the United States, in the internal affairs of the Congo, Algeria, and Laos; (2) to recom-

(more)

mend to Grinea, the United Arab Republic. Indonesia, Morocco, which withdrew their troops from the United Nations command in the Congo, that they put them at the disposal of the "legal" government of Gizenga; (3) to create an "international committee for aid to the Congo"; and (4) to call upon the states with diplomatic representatives in the Congo to assign them to the "legal" government of Gizenga. (Pravda, January 21 and 23, 1961; Aziya I Afrika Sevodnya, No. 3, 1961).

One of the main targets of Soviet policy in Africa is the trade-union movement. The Kremlin's instrument, the World Federation of Trade Unions, has helped found African trade-union associations which have close ties with trade-union bodies in the USSR, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Red China. In 1959, a conference in Conakry, Guinea, created a general association of African workers. The association subsequently sent representatives to Moscow and Peking. African trade-union leaders are being trained in Communist countries.

Another international organization created on the initiative of the Soviets is the Association of Afro-Asian Writers. Its first conference was held in the fall of 1958 in Tashkent; the second is scheduled to take place in Cairo in November, 1961. It is to discuss problems of the "role of writers in the struggle of the peoples of Africa and Asia against imperialism and colonialism" and to take the necessary steps for the translation of literary works into the various African languages as a means of "consolidating the spirit of solidarity" Literaturnaya Gazeta, Literary Gazette, March 25, 1961). This conference must be regarded as a first stage in the campaign to flood Africa with pro-Communist and anti-Western literature.

Soviet sources declare that Moscow's policy in Africa is based on the assumption that Africa will bypass the capitalist stage of development and pass directly to the socialist stage (Pravda, March 30, 1961). As a means of encouraging the African states along this path, Soviet government and Party leader Nikita Khrushchev is expected to pay official visits to Mali, the United Arab Republic, Liberia, Ghana, Togo, Morocco, and Ethiopía in 1961.